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ON THE RIVER NAMES OF AURLAND PARISH, SOGN, NORWAY

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THE words for river in ON were: ϕ , f., bekkr, m., elfr, f., gróf, f., and $l\phi kr$, m. These remain in Aurland today as $a\dot{u}$, bekk, elv, gro (in a few instances grov; see under gro, below), and $l\phi k$. In addition, there is now also $d\dot{y}la$ (in East Aurl., $d\phi la$ in West Aurl.), almost exclusively used for the central river in valleys the names of which end in -dal, but employed in considerable number in such cases; further there are scattered river names in -va, -vatn, -fqnn, $-gr\dot{y}pja$, $-sl\dot{y}kkja$, -brunn, and fljugande.

There are ca. 325 river names of all kinds in Aurland: rivers, brooks, creeks, and mountain-side rivulets. These last alone to-

¹ The discussion is based on my collection of Aurland place names, on my Aurland word book, and on note books of materials gathered mostly on the spot in all parts of the four parishes. The names were gathered in part in the summer of 1912, but mainly during part of the summer of 1926 and during four months of a sabbatical year of leave in 1931-1932; many additions were made during later study trips to Europe, when parts of the summers were spent in Oslo, Aurland, and Fjorane. The following maps have been helpful: Map 1: large relief map (not dated). Målstokk 1:100000. Terengreliefet av O. Engh. Teikningi av T. Barlag, N. Sire, G. Thue; Map 2: Kart over Nordre Bergenhus Amt i 4 blade. I, Sydvestlige blad (not dated); II, Sydøstlige blad. Udgivet av den geografiske Opmåling. 1874. Revidert 1915; Map 3: Topografisk Kart over Norge. Aurland Herad. 1940 (where, however, the greater part of Vangen Parish is not included); Map 4: Raundal-Flåmsdal. Målstokk 1:50000. Utgjeve do. 1936; Map 5: Stalheim-Målset. Målstokk do. Utgjeve do. 1938; Map 6: Dagali, Buskerud Fylke. Opmålt 1914-1917. Utgitt do. 1923. (Includes a part of Hol Parish.)

Bibliography: I Aasen: Norsk Ordbog, 1873. H. Ross: Norsk Ordbog, 1895. L. Heggstad: Gamalnorsk Ordbok, 1930. O. Rygh: Norske Gaardnavn. Bind XII, 1919 (abbr. NG). O. and R. Rygh: Norske Elvenavne, 1904 (NE). George T. Flom: Morphology of the Dialect of Aurland, 1944. Maal og Minne. Oslo (MogM). Scandinavian Studies. Menasha, Wis. (SS.)

tal some 150, and in the great majority of them the name ends in -gro; exceptions to this will be noted below. The over-all picture of the other ca. 175 river names shows the dominant place held by the names in -elv, and the limited number of those in -au. This is a bit surprising in view of the rather southerly location of the parish of Aurland. See further below, where the scope of other favored types, double names, lost names, etc. will be considered.

I shall first turn to the names ending in -au.

Names in -au. The ON form was &, def. sg. &in, which gave aui in Aurland.2 However, this form is not used today; instead, one says -aunau, an acc. sg. form. The ON def. acc. sg. form was ona, which became auna in Aurland. But this acc. sg. form (auna) was limited in its use in the dial. to ca. 15 fem. nouns of one syllable ending in a vowel, being some old \bar{o} -stems and fem. monosyllabic stems with final stressed vowel, and a few similarly formed old i-stems. But this small group could not maintain itself against the influence of the overwhelming number of wk. fem. nouns, with their def. ending -au. And so auna became aunau, the present form. The disappearance of the nom. sg. aui is of relatively recent date, beginning less than a century ago. In my Map 1 the present Langedýlau has the name Austavaåi (representing the pron. -aui). Further, some fem. nouns ending in a stressed vowel still vary locally in their allegiance to the new form (as bru 'bridge,' def. sg. brunau or brui).

The gsg. of ON & was &r, def. gsg. &rennar and &rnar, which latter form gave us Aurl. audna. This gsg. appears as part 1 of several cpd. place names from different parts of Aurland, e.g.,

² Abbreviations, etc. The usual abbreviations of grammatical terms; pron.=pronounce, pronunciation; occs.=occurrences; N., E., S., and W., before names of parishes, and P. for Parish after names; Vangen W.=the part of Vangen west of Aurlandsfjorden, and Underdalen E.=the part of Underdalen east of the fjord.

The silent -t of the neut. def. article will not be written, e.g., berg, n., bergje, def. form; for historical g, if palatalized, I write gj—here the gj stands, of course, for j=y as in you. But I write gj wherever such a g is now pron. j, hence gjait, gjit, gjjrma, gjoima, etc. (hence different from Aasen-Ross). I write eu for ON eu, ou, eu, now pron. eu. Otherwise I write eu for this W. Norw. diphthong (it is pron. eu in Aurland, elsewhere variously, eu or eu in Long vowels will not be marked.

Audnastøl, a sæter on the banks of Lauisdalselvi, Audnanakkjen, a ridge at Tokkvam, and in the indef. form: Aurqiadn, a meadow at Fretheim, and Aurqinadn, a meadow at Midge.

The following are the river names that appear with -aunau as the main part: In Underdalen: Haskaunau (hask'e, adi.,3 'eager'); Helgaunau (heilagr, adj., 'holy,' and helga, vb., 'sanctify'), which probably has its name from the fact that religious ceremonies were once upon a time held there (derived names in the environment are: Helgabakken and Helgagjile); Djupsaunau (pron. $j^e\bar{u}$ -), a big river near Langusu Støl (the first part of which is djup, n., 'depth'), and Kaldaunau at Stigen. This river is designated as Kaldåna in Map 3. In Nærøen we have Gjaitaunau (gieit, pron. jait), at Styvi (so called because there was once a goat pasture near by), and Husaunau, at Dyrdal. In Vangen we have Leugungu, a rivulet at Skjirdal (part 1 is laue, n., 'a woodland slope of leafing trees'; leua, vb., 'to cut leafy branches for fodder'); Helgaunau, a rivulet in the Skaulu mts., Vangen; and Slaipaunau, a small river in the eastern Vangen mountains. The adj. sleip'e 'slippery' can hardly be the direct source of the element Slaip- here. We must look for something about the nature of this river. Part 1 in the name is no doubt the word sleipa, f., 'soft and slippery water weeds,' and the name Slaipaunau means, then, 'The river with the slippery water weeds'; the situational name Slaipaunsvatne is called Sleipen V on Map 2. Finally we have Vella Markaunau, on the Autnes highlands (see Markaunau here below). In Flam we have Markaunau (mark, f., 'mark, sign'). This river lies inside Flam Parish in its main part to the top of the mountain, then the Vangen line cuts across it, turning due south, while the river continues southeast. Here in its higher reaches the river took the name Vetla Markaunau. See above.

When river names in -aunau appear as primary names in a group of names, the element -aunau varies in its form. Since in situational names the article ending is always dropped, we should expect the medial element to be -au-. And this we find consistently in the derived names: Djupsaubottn, Djupsauhalsen (-sn), Djupsauhotten (-tn), Haskaubottn, Haskauhalsen, Haskaubrunau,

⁸ See Morphology, pp. 62-63.

and Slaipaufjedle. Elsewhere we find mostly -aun-, as in: Markaunsfossen (-ss'n), Helgaunsbrunau, Slaipaunsvatne, and Leuauntaigjen. Exceptional is the form Helgaunabrunau in Underdalen, which gives rise to some uncertainty as to the element -auna. The names Helgabakken, Helgagjile, and Helgabrunau show the tendency to shorten the names. What are the reasons for any uncertainty here? Undoubtedly all the names in -au go far back of the time when the use of the new nom. def. form arose. The situational names with the medial form -au- have simply retained the proper form -au- (the earlier article -i of the primary name being dropped in the derived names, see above); those with -aun-, in the next group above, adjusted themselves to the new

pronunciation.4

Names in -bekk. The name bekk, def. bekkjen, is used for 'river,' especially a small one, and also for 'spring.' There are 17 river names with bekk as the main part: 11 in Vangen, 5 in Underdal, and 1 in Flam. This last name is Bytesbekkjen (byte, n., 'exchange, change, boundary'), a brook that forms the dividing line between the sæters Stora Uppsæte and Vetla Uppsæte. The names in Underdalen are: Kvignaroisbekkjen (kviga, f., 'heifer,' gpl. kvigna+rois 'a pile of stones collected in stony ground,' ON hrøys—it is a place where the heifers gathered); and the two rivers: Niste and Ypste Rynningsbekkjen (rynning, n., 'a shoot'; also 'a budding tree'), and Rangebekkjen (rang'e 'wrong, twisted'), a rivulet at Niberge, W. Underdalen, which takes its name from the many bends in it. Of those in Vangen may be mentioned: Krikabekkjen at Midge (krik, m., 'bend, crook'). The original form of the name must have been Krikjen, from which we get the derived names: Krikaklaivi, the near-by cliff, and Krikadn, the name of the whole area around the river. We have also Meltebekkjen (melta, vb., 'malt'), a river on the Ytterli sæter highlands. In the process of malting the malt was kept for three days in water to loosen up the grain (after which came the drying and the grinding). For the first of these steps a convenient brook or river was utilized, and such a brook sometimes came to be called Meltebekkjen. There occur also the names Krøgerbekkjen, a river

⁴ There are several river names in -aani in Voss (Map 4).

at the parsonage property (which derived its name from 'Kapelan Krøger,' a curate who served the congregation ca. 125 years ago), and Nilshūsbekkjen. The first part of this name is from Nilshūsen, named after the owner Nils. It was originally a small sub-farm under Skaim, later transferred to the parsonage as a sæter, then sold off the parsonage at the time when the properties Lunde, Nyheim, and Fossheim were sold off. It is now used as a home sæter of these three, and is called Berg. The rocky declivity still called Nilshusen records the spot where the Nilshusen buildings stood; the sæter houses of Berg now stand on the same site.⁵

The word bekk, in the meaning 'spring,' appears in several place names: Bekkjarheug in Underdalen, Bekkjarrainedn (reina, f., 'ridge'), at Ryu, Bekkjargroi in Vikjesland, Bekkjargrov in Niberge, and Bekkjahuse (hus 'house'), at Sinjarheim, a spring with a roof over it.

Names in -elv. There are 71 river names with the word elv as the main part. Each of the four great valleys of Aurland has its river named in this way: Eurlandselvi, Flaumselvi, Underdalselvi, and Næredalselvi. In addition there are 19 other valleys with names in -dal and the central rivers in -elvi. Some of these are: Skjirdalselvi, Lauisdalselvi, Fretheimsdalselvi, Rustedalselvi (rūst, f., 'grove'), Syrdalselvi (syra, f., 'the weed sorrel'), and Dyrdalselvi, (dyr, n., 'reindeer'; the valley has its name from the fact that formerly flocks of reindeer used to come and graze there).

In a number of cases there are variant forms; in others the name now used is relatively recent, and maps of 30 or 40 years ago exhibit different names. Some of these are: Langedalselvi, and Langedýlau (the older name), Stondalselvi, and Stondýlau (this apparently is the older), and Stemmerdalselvi, formerly Stemberdýlau—the official form has usually been Steinbergdýlau, but the name has never been so pronounced locally; also, stones are not especially numerous there. Others that have variant names in -au are: Myrdalselvi, Ugjirsdalselvi, Ljýsdalselvi, Gangdalselvi, Gümmedalselvi (part 1 here is Güdmünd, pers. name), Frondalselvi, and Kappadalselvi (in Underdalen E.).

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. Anders O. Ohnstad, Aurlandsvangen, for the information about the history of the place once called *Nilshusen*.

Names with -elvi as the main part after names other than those ending in -dal total ca. 50. Of these, 8 rivers have the name Tvarelvi. A 'tvarelv' is a river that joins another river from the side. Again, the lower end of Gimmedalselvi is called Tvarelvi. A few of the other names are: Kjidjagjuelvi in Underdalen (part 1 is kid 'young goat,' ON $ki\delta$; part 2 is gju, pron j^eu , ON gjuv 'crevice in rocky terrain'); and Rjoandelvi in Flåm W. ($rj\bar{o}^ua$, vb., 'scatter, spread'). This name was first used of the high Rjoandefossen, with its seven sister streams at the precipice; in falling, the water there turns into spray, which nowhere seems to reach the ground below, but, instead, seems to rise again. We find also the name Seuavaelvi, in the far eastern Vangen mountains, so designated because of the wading places that the sheep use.

Changed from a name in -a is: Honnselvi in Honnsdalen, Vangen, near the border of the District of Lerdal. The small river has its source in Honnsvatne, continues on into Lerdal, where it has the name Hodnau, and is a big river in Lerdal's Hodnedalen (=Honnsdalen above). There is no feature in Lerdal which could have given rise to the name Hodnau. The name derives from the mountain Honnsnipau (Hodnsnip on Map 2) in Aurland, somewhat farther south than Honnsvatne. It got its name from the sharpness of its peak. The name is pron. honnsnipau, with regular change from hodn to honn when this word is part 1 of a name whose main theme begins with a cons. The Aurland name Honnselvi was originally Hodnau. Other changes to names with final -elvi are Haimsta Vargelvi, Solbakkelvi, and Kolsetelvi. See below, under names in -a.

Names in -dyla or -døla. River names with the main part -dŷla or -døla appear as follows: Brattedŷlau, Lŷngdŷlau (lyng, n., 'heather'), Rausdŷlau (raus, f., 'path, cattle-path'), Værdŷlau in Vangen, and Hoidŷlau in Vangen W.; Braidŷlau, Krongledŷlau (krang'e, adj., 'cramped'), Leupsdŷlau and Vindedŷlau in Flâm; Krokadølau, at Stigen, just inside the Underdalen border—beginning just north of Graunosi mountain, it circles around to the east, then makes several turns on its way down to Aurlandsfjorden; finally there is Kappadølau in Kappadalen on the south side of Nærefjorden, between Gjeitanosi mountain and Beiteln.

This type of river name is, therefore, used almost exclusively in Vangen and Flåm.

The following names in -dyla have variant forms (see above): Myrdýlau, Ugjirsdýlau, in Ugjirsdalen near Kaurdal. There are rock-slide piles and fallen gravel everywhere. The first part comes from ugjerd, f., in the sense of 'disorder, disordered condition.' We find also, Gangdýlau, Ljýsdýlau, and Gümmedýlau (these five in Flåm); and Frondýlau in Vangen W. (for three other variants in Vangen, see above). The word dyla 'hollow' occurs twice in Aurland. The first example is Rudýlau in E. Vangen, a hollow where a species of small willow grows in abundance and is regularly cut for winter fodder. Part 1 is rud, n., 'a cleared place,' in this case a place temporarily cleared of usable willow (the vb. is rydja—rudde—rutt). The second example is Snýdýlau, a snow hollow high up in the mountain at Bell in Vassbygdi, and from which avalanches fall frequently during the winter.

Names in -a, definite -au. The following are some of the examples of wk. fem. river names based on masc, or neut, nouns, on strong fem. nouns, or on adjs. First, Aitrau, in the Vaim highlands, a name formed from the noun eitr, n., 'poison,' the river being so named because of the icv coldness of the water in it. The bitter pain of continued contact with ice-cold water is likened to the biting pain caused by poison (see the article in Scandinavian Studies, Vol. 17 [1943], pp. 229-237). Then Andisau, a small river in the Kvamm mountains (and, f., 'sea-fowl' plus ON dis, f., 'woman, goddess' appears in a number of fem. pers. names). But no doubt the influence of the vb. disa 'roam about, rise and fall, dip' enters also. There is further the name Grynnau, a big river east of Øvstebø (ýfstəbý), S. Vangen (grønd, f., 'growth of grass, place that is green with growing grass'). The name is old, and there are several important natural features nearby which have derived their names from it as the primary name. The adj. grøn could easily have been associated with the name and influenced its form. Similarly, we find the name Kvanngrýau (kvann, f., 'the plant angelica' + grø < grøde 'growth'), a river in the Midge mountains, and in a region where much angelica grew.

There is further the name Kvittau (kvitl, m., 'side branch of a river'). The main river is the big rivulet Kvitau (kvit'e, adj., 'white'). The two lie on the mountain slope north of the Øiu and Steine dwellingsteads near Vassbygdi. Other features in the area are called: Kvittingabergje, Kvittingaliadn, Kvitlingagaldadn, Kvitlingamyradn, Kvitlingaskare, and the sæter Kvittingadn or Kvittingu. The first element kvitl- or kvitt- was originally kvitl- in all these names (pron. kveitl). There were first the name Kvitau (pron. kveitau), the big rivulet, and its small side branch Kvitlau (pron. kvellau), which name also applied to the fork. When the sæter was established by the Vaim farm, it took the name Kvitlingadn (a formation in -ing, common in sæter names6), and with it as the primary name, nearby features nearly all assumed names derived from it, even the name Kvitefossen partially so, for at Steine it was called Kvittefossen. Other names are Prestau (prest, m., 'minister'), an important river in Fretheimsdalen (so named because it runs through sæter property of the parsonage); Haimsta Vargau and Fremsta Vargau (varg, m., 'wolf'), former names of two rivers near the juncture of Hol P., Hallingdal, Ulvik P., Hardanger, and Aurland. The two are sometimes spoken of as Vargau or Vargedn. There are two lakes immediately south of the narrow Flam-Vindedal-Hallingdal road (for walking and horseback riding), called Stora Vargavatne and Vetla Vargavatne. Haimsta Vargau connected the western and the eastern lake, and Fremsta Vargau ran from the eastern lake farther toward Hol, then turned north inside Aurland, ultimately joining Stemmerdylau.

Finally may be mentioned the name Kolsætau (kol, n., 'coal'+sæte, n., 'seat; stopping place,' a frequent final theme in sæter names in Aurland). It lies on the Dyrdal sæter highlands and is the former name of what is now called Vassetelvi. There have been many changes in the names here. First, Kolsæte, a sæter now long abandoned was situated ca. halfway between the present Hjølmů Sæter on the east and Kolsetskare on the west, slightly north of which towered Kolsetsjedle. The river Kolsætau extended presumably from somewhat east of the sæter

⁶ Cf. Tvenningu, the name of an abandoned sæter in Underdalen; it was situated in the fork between two rivers.

to where the original Vassetelvi turned south to Vassetlainedn, and it went as far as Kqlsetskare. At present all this has been changed; Kqlsetelvi is now the name of the river beyond Kqlsetskare, and is also the name of the short river running from the main river south to Vassetlavatne; the main river is now called Vassetelvi clear to Kqlsetskare, and this is now called Vassetskare. Kqlsetfjedle has become Smørbqttnnut, derived from Smørbqttn on the west (in Fresvik). The present sæter lies near Vassetvatne and so took the name Vassæte. Early names to the south of the old Kqlsætau are: Vassebottavatne and Vassebottnnosi (this is now called Vassetbottnosi). The sæter Kqlsæte and the river Kqlsætau apparently took their names originally from the fact that once upon a time excellent coal-oil was produced at Skare by burning turf; this then came to be called Kqlsetskare.

A few river names are based on the infinitive of verbs, e.g., Sitlau (<sitla 'trickle'), a small river in the Gummedalen area of Flåm. It is called Titlau by some, and Titledn. If the name Titlau is not merely a distortion of the name Sitlau, it could be from titla used as sitla (Ross has such a vb. in the meaning: "sive op gjennem is"). Stampaù (another name for Markaunau; see above) is the vb. stampa 'to mill cloth.' In Flåm they always say Stampau or Markaunaù (Map 5 has Stampelvi). In regard to Stampaù a man in Flåm said: "Naur Stampaù kom teilę sù haddę dai gott mark paù dā at da blai teilę vaur, deifę sù kadla di na Markaunaù."

The following wk. fem. nouns appearing as names of rivers will here be noted: Erlau (erla, f., 'wag-tail'), a small river in Fretheimsdalen (the smallness and swiftness of which perhaps suggested the implied comparison with the wag-tail); and Flauttau (flautta, f., 'flat area'), a small river on the Kvamm plateau. This river is also called Vetla Flauttau and Haimsta Flauttau in contradistinction to the larger one called Stora Flauttau and Framsta Flauttau. The river flows over a stretch of slopes called Flauttedn (a regional name). Cf. also Koldau (kolda, and kalda,

⁷ The name Norpau or Nørpau, a rivulet at Hokjen near Fretheim, but not included above, is briefly discussed by Prof. Magnus Olsen in an article entitled "Norpa (elvenavn)" in MogM (1909), p. 64. He suggests that the meaning is 'den karrige,' "Idet derved maatte tænkes paa elvens ganske ringe vandmængde."

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f., 'a cold pocket in the terrain'), a river at Stigen. It forms the boundary between the Stigen farms and Stokkali. In Map 5 it is given as Koldåna (see above, under names in -au); cf. likewise Kringlau (kringla, f., 'round disk'). This is a long river that starts slightly west of Næsbø in eastern Vangen and then runs south past the sæter Kringlau and on toward and almost to Dyranosi mountain, not far from the Hallingdal border. The name Kringla was originally the name of the old sæter, for the position of which it was an apt name. This abandoned site is now called Gamlakringlau.

Names in -gro. These rivers are mostly small, though there are big ones among them. They have their source in the melting snows of the mountain hollows, and when they begin to flow, they may be seen on the sloping rock walls in all parts of Aurland in the spring and the early summer. They are well swollen at first; then, generally in the latter part of July, they become less active, until in August the smaller ones dry up, and there are seen now instead the long slender channels on the mountain sides, more and more numerous as the summer wanes. They are called grøve: sg. gro, f., def. groi, from grov, grovi, ON grôf, def. grôfin, readily recognized as the cognate of Engl. 'groove.' There are some 125 names in -gro in Aurland. Interchanges between elv and gro in these names occur only a couple of times. As was noted above, there are two instances of names in -au 'river' which are used of rivulets.

The following names in -gro will here be briefly discussed: Fabnagroi, in Nærøen, near the border of the District of Leikanger (fabn, f., 'outstretched arms, embrace, bosom'). The 'fabn' is here a broad and somewhat long bowl on the mountain side; down through it the rivulet runs until it reaches the final steep part of its journey. The bowl is called Fabnen. Similarly, we have Brynningsgroi at Bakka (brynning, f., 'the watering of the stock'); Batnandegroi at Flåm (batna, vb., 'benefit, improve'); and Ljoragroi at Flåm (ljore, m., 'opening in the roof, especially of a smoke-house or wash-house,' a Ljorestova); but the thought that prompted giving the name Ljoren (ljou-) to the spot here in question was no doubt that it was a point of vantage for a view, a look-out point. Ljoren is a high level knoll in the outer parts of

the old Flåm sæter grounds. From it one has a remarkable view of the valley in both directions, of the farms and the surrounding mountains. We find also the names Mittengroi, at Skjirdal (which runs through the middle one of the three Skiirdal farms. which was generally called Mitten [midt, m., 'middle'] by the neighbors); and Nonsgro, at Berdal in the S. Vangen mountains (non, pron. noun, 'noon-time, 3 o'clock P.M.,' Lat. nona, scil. hora, 'the ninth hour of the day'). Finally there are the following two names at Niberge: Kvitargrov (kveit'e 'white': Kvit- is here used as a noun = 'The White One'); and Høgalaithadlgrovi (høg'e, adj., 'high'+leite, n., 'range of vision, an open place in the mountains,' from which one can see the farm home or the sæter, +hadl n., 'slope'). These, and the name Bekkjargrov (see above, under -bekk) are the only names in Aurland with -grov, instead of the usual -gro. Niberge (pron. Nibergu) is a farm high up in the mountains, isolated and difficult of access.

There are often variant name forms where a form with -a, def. -au, appears by the side of the name in -gro. Examples: Trodlegroi and Trodlau at Melhus in Flam (trodl, n., 'giant'). Giants are mostly associated with mountains (bergatrodl), but we frequently find them mentioned in place names for rivers and hollows. It would seem that the name Trodlau is the primary name here in a group of names, of which the others are: Trodlebergie, Trodlenuten, Trodlehovden (a forested part of the mountain [hovde 'edge, projection']), and Trodleskriau. Locally people say Trodlau, and have done so for a long time; it is perhaps the original name. Erlegroi or Erlau (on erla, see names for river, above) forms the dividing line between Melhus and Kaurdal. Erlau is an old name, and locally is regularly called Erlau; there are several derived names. Both these rivulets are big, as are the waterfalls Trodlefossen and Erlefossen. There is finally Kjødnesgroi or Kjødnesau at Dyrdal (part 1 is kjøra, f., 'tar,' ON tjara: Kjødnes < Kjornes < Tjorunes).

Rivulets tend somewhat to take the wk. fem. name form; there are no less than 14 of these in Vangen, 11 in Flåm, 9 in Nærøen, and 5 in Underdalen. Among these is Bainsnesau at Underdalen (< Bainsnes). Here Bain- is the adj. bein 'straight.' Originally the name was Beinanes, which became Beines, then

Beinsnes with a protective -s-, the change being due to the desire to preserve the two n's. There are many such name forms in Aurland and elsewhere. The s has no possessive function; it has the function of preventing the disappearance of a sound near the hiatus between the two parts of a cpd. name. It is an old change. In the case of Braisnes from Breianes, then Breines, cf. official forms Brenes, 1667, and Bresnes, 1723 (NG). Other names in -au are: Lindau at Dyrdal (lind, f .- a lindentree once grew there); Neutau, a big rivulet, near Gudvangen quay, which swirls down over a stony and generally ugly area; Spranau, a small rivulet at Tærů (spræna, vb., 'gush, spread, spray'); Strunkau, at Midge (strunka, vb., 'be stubborn'); Veltau (velta, vb., 'overturn, topple') at Underdal. This rivulet rises in Hovdungabergje, somewhat west of the sæter Hovdungu and comes down the steep mountain side, over a series of smooth sloping rocks. Finally, we have Vetlammrau at Brekke (< Vetlelihammarn, name of a near-by rock).

Names in -lok, -va, -vatn, -fonn, -grypja, -slykkja, -brunn, and fljugande. The word løk appears only once as the main part of a river name, namely in Bjødnqilykjen at Flåm, the name of a slow-flowing river which has almost no current in it. As the qualifying component in a name we find it in Løkjabakkadn at Ramsoi.8 The names in -va are: Braiava in Furdalen, N. Vangen -the river is a part of Vetlefurdalselvi; Braivoi, a river near Store Furdedalen Støl; Brestava, a small river in eastern Vangen. The word vatn 'water, lake' occurs twice: in Vatnadn, plur., a very small stream between Flåm and Inderli; and in Sytavatne (syt'e, adj., 'sweet'), below the Skaar sæter—the water in it never freezes over. The word fonn, f., 'snowdrift' appears once: Langafonni. This is properly the name of a large area of snowbanks, almost frozen over, and somewhat glacier-like in appearance; but from the southern end of the banks the melting snows flow on down southeast clear to the Sauava sæter, and the name Langafonni applies to this part also. Next: Koldegrybjau, is the name of a big rivulet at Stigen. The verb here is: grypjagrupte-grupt (cf. Ross: grypja, vb., "falde i Klumper," and

 $^{^8}$ NE gives a river name $L\phi ken$ from N. Land. My Map 6 shows a river by the name of $L\phi ken$ in Hol, Hallingdal.

Grypja, f., 1, "en klumpet Røre," Telemarken, and 2, "en uordentlig Masse, Fjærland [Sogn]," and numerous variant words). The name Grupja appears as the name of a field at Flam. Cf. also ON gryfja, f., 'hollow.' What we have here then, in the river name Grypja, is a rivulet that flows through a gulley full of small and big fallen stones and of fallen earth. The name is presumably a contracted form for Koldegjilgrýpjau. The word slykkja appears once: Kjeppaslykkjau, a mountain rivulet at Brekke. Fljugande (pr. ptc. of fljuga 'fly') is the name not only of a mountain stream, but also of the ravine through which it runs, and of the waterfall below Mt. Flenjaeggji in Vangen West. Each of the three features is regularly called simply Fljugande. The 1940 map prints Fljugandegrovi. Other features in the vicinity that derive their names from Fljugande are Fljugandebakkadn and Fljugandelyau. Finally, there are the two river names in -brunn; Nautabrunn at Jødlu, and Svinabrunn at Nordby in Vangen.

COMMENTS ON LOKASENNA 5, 3; 24, 2; AND SKÍRNISMÓL 27, 3

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THE three Eddic passages to be discussed here have this in common that as they stand in the MS. they are clear and make fairly good sense but in one way or another are not quite satisfactory. Any proposal to emend them should therefore suggest how a scribe or the memory of the reciter could have been misled so that we may not have what the poet meant.

Two of the passages occur in the Lokasenna 'The Flyting of Loki,' that entertaining chronique scandaleuse of the noble gods of Valholl in which they are shown from the seamy side, but, instead of refuting or repudiating the charges hurled against them, content themselves with employing the tu quoque argument.

There is a banquet of the gods in Ægir's hall. On account of his evil deeds Loki is not included in their number; but he appears outside, demanding admittance, and is met at the door by Eldir, one of Ægir's servants. An argument arises between them, and Loki threatens to raise strife and dissension among the gods. Eldir replies that the gods will know how to retaliate. Then Loki says, stanza 5:

Veitstu þat, Eldir, ef vit einir skolom sáryrðom sakaz: auðigr verða mun ek í andsvǫrom, ef þú mælir til mart!

which I have translated freely:

"If with words we war, we two alone, full well thou wotst, Eldir, that I will uppermost be if foul of me thou fallest!"

(Literally, "if thou sayest too much.")

Everything is clear in this stanza. But I have always had misgivings about the word audigr, and for two reasons. In the

first place: audigr never means anything but 'favored by fortune, rich, blessed (with wealth or happiness).' The Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Old High German equivalents audags, ēadig, ôtag show no appreciable divergence from that meaning; nor do ON audinn, p.p. (of a non-existent verb), 'granted by fate,' audna, f., 'fate, good fortune,' audga 'to enrich' or cognates in related languages, such as Swed. öde 'fate,' OHG al-ôd2 'allodium, free possession,' MHG klein-ôt 'jewel.' Hence audigr verda does not seem to make good sense in our passage. Even stretching the meaning to be 'copious' or even 'powerful' (for which, however, there is no warrant in the dictionaries) does not help; because 'to be copious, powerful in words' is hardly what Loki means: his repartees smart, rather! In the second place: if indeed one accepts the word, one should expect the comparative audigri, in which case the passage might possibly be interpreted—as rendered above to mean: "I would become superior to thee in answering words."

A much better reading suggests itself if for audigr we substitute qrdigr 'stiff, upright,' hence 'difficult, disputatious, arduous.' Fritzner (sub verbo 2) in his conscientious circumlocutory style defines the meaning as "streng, haard, villig eller ivrig til at gaa løs paa andre med Angreb eller stille sig i Opposition mod dem," and furnishes a number of illustrative passages. The poet of Lokasenna himself uses the word in stanza 48, where he describes Heimdallr as being stationed to watch the bridge of the gods orgo (<orbonium of the gods orgo (<orbonium of the gods of the gods orgo (sold baki "with a stiff back." It occurs also elsewhere in ON poetry, e.g., in Sigvat's Austrfararvisur, stanza 99 (ordigt vedr "strong counterwinds"). And the Mod. Icel. equivalents fall in line. So, if one is not afraid of neologisms, we might render the line: "I shall be tough on you, etc."

It is easy to see how the two words could be confused: they

¹ The homonymous stem auő- in ON auőn 'wilderness,' auőr 'empty, desolate' and its congeners is not related to the stem auő- in auő-igr. Cf. Walde-Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen (1930), Vol. I, p. 14; for auőigr, p. 16.

² The synonymous ON *odal*, OHG *wodal*, Ags. *obel*, *ebel*, etc. belong to a different stem, again.

³ It is interesting to note that Lat. arduus 'high, steep, difficult' and Greek δρθιοs, of the same meaning, are closely related to ON oröigr. Cf. Walde-Pokorny, op. cit., p. 148.

differ only slightly in their first syllables, the formation being otherwise the same, in case of dictation; and if copied from a MS., we must remember that the character used represents both au and $\varrho.^4$

Forcing his way in, Loki then does provoke both minor and major divinities by taunts and vilifications. Bandying words with Othin himself, Loki reproaches him with giving victory to undeserving men. Othin replies (stanza 23):

"Granted I gave, as give I should not, mastery to worser men:
thou winters eight wast the earth beneath, milking the cows as a maid, and there gavest birth to a brood:
were these womanish ways, I ween."

The last line, ok hugŏa ek þat args aŏal, reading like the last line in the following stanza, literally means: "and I hold that to be the essence of womanishness." Argr is a term carrying the utmost contempt. Milking was the task of slave wenches. If the word molka in the original be interpreted as "to give milk," as it might, the insult would be even worse.

To this heinous aspersion Loki replies in kind (stanza 24):

En þik síða kóþo Sámseyo í ok draptu á vétt sem volor; vitka líki fórtu verþióð yfir, ok hugða ek þat args aðal.

Translated freely, ad sensum:

"But thou, say they, on Sams Isle once wovest spells like a witch:

in warlock's shape through the world didst fare: were these womanish ways, I ween."

In his important book on $Sejd^6$ (the Old Norse magic) Dag Strömbäck develops a suggestion of Neckel in his Glossar, sub

⁴ Cf. Bugge, Fortale, ed., p. viii.

⁵ On this point cf. Gering-Sijmons, Kommentar, Vol. I, p. 288, footnote.

^{6 (1935).} Cf. pp. 21-22 for details of his argument.

verbo, and shows that the line ok draptu á vétt sem volor should be translated: "and thou didst beat on the magic drum like witches." (This beating on a drum was a custom of Lappish and Siberian shamans for producing a state of exaltation or auto-hypnosis in themselves.) But while fully admitting the strength of Strömbäck's contention, I cannot suppress a feeling that the meaning it gives here is too flat; it is the allegation that Othin once impersonated a witch that is the sting in Loki's reply. That, as such, he beat the magic drum is only what we should expect in a volva and is not in itself particularly disgraceful, once he impersonates one. But also, the beating on a magic drum is improbably specific in this connection: there were other, and worse (because inherently dishonorable) practices that witches indulged in when making seið: vitku líki fara verþjóð yfir, "to roam the world as a (homeless) witch," ok hugða ek þat args aðal, "that I consider the essence of effeminacy!" As Volospo (stanza 22) has it:

> seið hon, hvars hon kunni, seið hon hug leikinn, æ var hon angan illrar brúðar.

"She cast spells where she could, cast spells on the mind—to wicked women she was welcome ever." It ill befits Othin to be in such company!

Concerning these volor we hear, over and over again in the sagas, that this is the custom and occupation of their kind, just like that of our gypsies, to roam from farm to farm, telling fortunes (fara & veizlur, fara vtoa um land, yfir landit). To be sure, we are also told uniformly that they were met with great deference and honored with gifts on leaving. But I suspect that this was chiefly inspired by fear lest disrespectfulness or inattentiveness to them bring dire results.

⁷ Notwithstanding Strömbäck's strictures (op. cit., pp. 25–26), Bugge's emendation vitku (<nom. fem. *vitka) seems called for because of the emphasis in this passage on the unmanliness of the act and because a change of sex from the directly antecedent sem volor seems unlikely. Also following Bugge, and contrary to Strömbäck, I take fara verþjóð yfir to mean "to roam the world," which was Othin's chief occupation, and not "to ride over mankind in the air (on a broomstick) like a witch," though such practices date from hoariest Germanic antiquity. Cf. Bächtold-Stäubli, Wörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, sub Hexe E, 2, b.

Of Othin we learn from numerous passages in the Eddas and sagas that one of his favorite roles is that of Gangleri, the viator (in)defessus, and that he is galdrs fabir, the very father of magic. So much is certain of his role in popular belief. But one may well doubt whether all the accusations of Loki are based on the 'facts' of mythology. One may, indeed, surmise that in the stanza quoted he gives a malicious turn to Othin's self-confessed role as wanderer, in which he indeed for verbioo yfir, visiting all sorts of beings to learn wisdom, though not i vitku liki "in the guise of a sorceress."

Now, keeping this in mind, it would be tempting to amend draptu & vétt to read dróttu⁸ & vit. However, to judge from the earliest examples adduced in Svenska Akademiens ordbok (sub verbo, A 3 c) and in Ordbog over det danske Sprog, sub verbo, 13), the intransitive meaning of 'to travel' for draga seems to have come in through German influence (ziehen), and only in the late Middle Ages—centuries, probably, after the composition of Lokasenna.

But it is not necessary to postulate draga. Considering the frequent parallelism of helmings, the verb fara, most commonly used for the visitations of the volor, suggests itself and is, indeed, found in the line immediately following. But how then could such an aberration as the MS. reading shows come about? Simply, I think, by the very fact that the immediate repetition of the same verb might have led the (?) copyist to insert the flat and far-fetched draptu â vêtt instead.

The third passage to be discussed occurs in stanza 27 of the lay which in the Codex Regius is called For Skirnis, and Skirnismol in the Codex Arnamagnæanus 748, 4to, which just includes this stanza. We remember the story of the love-sick god Freyr, who pines away because he cannot obtain beautiful Gerd, daughter of the giant Gymir. Freyr's servant (or hypostasis) Skirnir undertakes to win her for him; but Gerd resists all gifts and blandishments, even his threats: like the princess in the fairy

8 Sijmons, ed., p. 130, footnote, had suggested "ok drogt vel."

⁹ In ON the verb has only transitive meaning; though a glance at Fritzner (sub verbo, 18) shows that the intransitive use was not far removed.

story she prefers to live her life in single blessedness. Moreover, she says, her father will kill the bold swain who has penetrated to her bower. Skírnir replies (stanza 25) that on the contrary he will surely kill her father with the wondrous sword of Freyr. Then he launches into a crescendo of threats of the magic he will apply to break down her resistance.

The first of these (stanza 26) is that he will strike her with the magic wand, which will tame her and make her conform to his wishes: she is to go "where the sons of men will never see her again":

par skaltu ganga, er pik gumna synir síðan æva sé!

There (stanza 27) she is to "sit on the Eagle Cliff, looking away from the world of men, and facing toward Hel":

Ara þúfo á skaltu ár sitja, horfa heimi ór, snugga heliar til

"Food shall be more loathly to thee than the glittering serpent is to anyone among men":

matr sé þér meirr leiðr en manna hveim inn fráni ormr með firom!

It has always seemed to me a strange anti-climax that Gerd should be struck with loss of appetite, after being threatened with removal to a place where the sons of men would never see her again. Hence, though both MSS, are unequivocal on the point, I have not the least doubt that we must read maor, and not matr-whether now in the sense of 'a human being in general' (mennzkr maor) or a 'male person.' Either would fit in logically: it is a threat to give pause even to the worst virago! For (in the next stanza) from being a lovely maiden she is to become a monstrous sight (at undrsjonum), so that all beings will stare at her when she comes out. If at all, she is to wed a threeheaded thurs or else remain unmated (stanza 31); and here one must consider that not a single 'old maid' is to be encountered in Old Norse literature! But even if only 'human beings' are referred to: people in the old North were by no means hermits but loved company and feared loneliness. Witness the proverbial mater er mannz gaman "man is gladdened by men" ($H \varrho vam \varrho l$ 47), and that haunting stanza ($H \varrho vam \varrho l$ 50):

Hrørnar þoll, sú er stendr þorpi á, hlýrat henni borkr né barr; svá er maðr, sá er manngi ann: hvat skal hann lengi lifa?

"The fir-tree dies in the field that stands—shields it nor bark nor bast;
thus eke the man who all doth shun:
why should he linger in life?"

Again, it would be a strange threat to utter that food would be more abhorrent to Gerd than is the glittering snake to men: the snake inspires fear or, still better, makes men recoil, but it does not make them feel disgust.¹⁰

But even though this rather slight emendation would improve the sense, the line should still give rise to misgivings. In the first place, the meter is not satisfactory: the all-important predicate adjective leiðr at the end ruins the E-type rhythm, yet can not be spared. Meir(r) is found only in the Codex Arnamagnæanus but is indispensable for the comparison. In the second place, a comparative formation with meirr (meirr leiðr) is unique in Old Norse and must fall under heavy suspicion. Curiously, Rask (followed by Sijmons) is the only editor who sensed something to be wrong, and therefore he suggested the regular comparative form leiðari; but that would be sacrificing the second alliterative syllable without improving the rhythm. Far better to trans-

¹⁰ Here, as elsewhere in Old Norse literature, especially where the glittering eyes of the snake are referred to, the reference is probably to the fabled basilisk, whose glance petrifies, rather than to the not-very-terrifying common adder of the North.

¹¹ Sveinbjörn Egilsson in his Lexicon Poëticum (sub meirr 1) does give this as the sole occurrence: "Positivo præpositum format comparativum, meirr leiör, magis ingratus= leiöri." I note in passing that Finnur Jónsson in his Danish edition of this monumental work simply omits the important entry meirr, which lills nearly a column in the original. What is given by him sub mikill is entirely unsatisfactory so far as meirr is concerned. The Edda glossaries of Gering and Neckel likewise fail to note the occurrence and sense of meirr in this passage.

pose meirr to the second half-line, throwing meirr into the anacrusis, and thus improving both sense and meter:

maðr sé þér leiðr meirr en manna hveim inn fráni ormr með firom!

"man shall be loath to thee more than is to anyone the glittering worm among men."

This possibility seems to have occurred to Genzmer in his translation¹² though he gives no inkling of a reason for the change to a better meaning in a passage that has been thoughtlessly copied by scribes and editors alike.

¹² Volksausgabe (1933), p. 49: "zum Ekel sei dir Speise, mehr als es Erdensöhnen die schillernde Schlange ist!"

OBSERVATIONS ON SWEDISH GRAMMAR: III

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST
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The Article "The Superlative of Adjectives with 'Möjlig' in Swedish"

A TTENTION is called to Erik Wellander's discussion—from the prescriptive point of view—of usage connected with möjlig and tänkbar in his Riktig svenska, En handledning i svenska språkets vård.² Two comments shall be made. Wellander first calls attention to the normal type kortaste möjliga väg, then to the type möjligast korta väg,³ borrowed from German. Thereupon he continues: "Ej sällan nyttjas båda uttryckstyperna om varandra: Betydelsen av möjligast grundliga språkbildning hos bredast möjliga folklager..." But the type kortaste möjliga väg is not the same as the type bredast möjliga folklager. Subsequently he says of this latter type: "S u perlative n bör böjas. Det är ovårdat att skriva som ofta sker: Enskede är den sämst möjliga plats för en kötthall (skriv sämsta)..." Yet Olof Östergren, in his Nusvensk ordbok, cites without comment: På kortast(e) möjliga tid.4

The former article concluded with the statement: "No example has been encountered with tänkbarast followed by the positive of the adjective." Such an example is now available in my collections: Han var nämligen förut springpojke hos en lumpoch benhandlande på Söder och hans vanor visavi kroppshygien voro de tänkbarast enkla.

An interesting sentence with tänkbar is: Dina slipsar är ju det jävligast jävliga tänkbara.6

¹ Scandinavian Studies, Vol. 17 (1942), pp. 83-84.

² 2 ed. (Stockholm, 1941), pp. 199-201. Cf. also pp. 4-5.

³ And the type *möjligaste korta väg*, of which my collections contain no example.

⁴ See footnote 3 of the earlier article.

⁵ Skrifter av Albert Engström, Vol. 16: Medan det jäser (Stockholm, 1942), p. 113.

⁶ Lars Ahlin, Inga ögon väntar mig (Stockholm, 1944), p. 22.

NOTES AND NEWS

Professor Erik Wahlgren of the University of California at Los Angeles has been appointed "lektor" of American English and Literature at Uppsala for the academic year 1947–1948. Dr. Wahlgren's classes in Los Angeles are being conducted by Dr. Bengt Holmberg, who is a teacher at Uppsala läroverk.

Martin Soderback of North Park College will extend his studies at Uppsala through the first term 1947–1948. Meanwhile, his brother Helmer continues to substitute for him at

North Park College.

Fil. mag. Göran Karlberg of Stockholm will teach Swedish at the University of Kansas during the academic year 1947-1948.

Dr. Sven Liljeblad, who spent the summer lecturing on Swedish language and literature at the University of Chicago and North Park College, has been granted a fellowship from the Viking Fund to resume his research on Indian folklore. During the Fall Semester 1947 he is serving as lecturer in Swedish at Harvard University.

Hedin Bronner of the University at Chicago is teaching English at the War College in Oslo. During his absence, his classes in Norwegian will be taught by Mr. Thor Gabrielsen from Mandal, Norway.

Dr. Esther Chilstrom Meixner, Philadelphia, was invited to Sweden last summer to lecture on the "Teaching of the Scandinavian Languages and Literatures in the United States,"

The Swedish Institute invited foreign lecturers in Swedish to a conference in Stockholm on the 26th and 27th of September. Five representatives from the United States were present, namely, Per Stensland of Columbia University, Martin Soderback of North Park College, Claes-Göran Rende, formerly of the University of Kansas, Erik Wahlgren of U.C.L.A., and Gösta Franzen of the University of Chicago. Among other things, the problem of modern textbooks was discussed, and teaching experiences were exchanged.

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